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conflict. Once a feud arose there was nothing, neither dominating ties of blood nor the voice of chieftainship or government, to stop or limit it. Where the demands of kin by marriage conflicted with the claims of blood and where the call of a hunting companion whose bed one had shared clamored above the voices of blood and affinity the individual was pulled in a dozen directions, by a dozen magnets. Feuds spread, cleaving the society asunder like a deadly axe, blighting its life like the plague. Thus it came about that the very forces of integration carried the seeds of disruption within them. A man's link with his wife's people pulled him from his siblings; his bond with his sister's husband tore him from his wife's people; and his relationships with his hunting companions drew him from all.

The Kaingáng are divided into extended families ranging in numbers from 50 to 300 individuals. These families are made up of the descendants of two or more men who have intermarried and whose children have intermarried. Thus each family is closely inbred, and almost every member can trace his genealogy[1] to one of the two or more male ancestors. These ancestral males are real personalities, and the data on them is usually rather full, but there is always a point beyond which memory cannot go, and it is impossible to learn anything about any of their parents or siblings. Marriages with other extended families occurred, but marriages within the families far outnumber marriages between the families. This endogamy was brought about not by a specific taboo on marrying outside but by the hostility between the families which made them distrust one another and which kept them apart. When members of different families did marry it almost always caused a split in the ranks of one or both of the intermarrying groups. In such a case brother might be aligned against brother to the death. Those who shifted from one family to another either through marriage or through having been captured as youngsters were looked on as blood relatives of their new associates and hence as enemies to their former friends and were given no quarter in case of attack by members of the family to which they once belonged.

The Kaingáng call members of their own extended family "my own people," and the warm personal relationships that have been described in the preceding chapters exist only among one's "own people." For hundreds of years there have been several Kaingáng extended families and they have lived in a state of perpetual feud with one another. Whole lineages have been destroyed, and others, overcome by panic, have wandered away into the endless forests, never to be heard of again. Sometimes two extended families have come together and have been able to live in peace, but gen-

[1] The Kaingáng are minutely interested in their own genealogies, and they know who their father's father's father's son's wife's sister's daughter's husband is down to the last detail of all his names, what he died of, and how many children he had.

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erally whoever went contrary to the behavior of the rest of his "own people" and threw in his lot with "another group of people" was lost, for he had joined forces with those whose hate and fear were directed against the ones with whom he had ties. He became a wanderer divorced from his own blood, sleepless at night for fear that they might come to kill him, anxious in the day lest his new companions slay him. If he survived, his children bore the weight of his deed, for they might never return to their father's people. They were *kôinggẽgn utpá*, "different men," to them, even though they were first cousins by blood. They had never shared their women or caressed their men. They were shut out of the circle of warm arms and bodies that mean security to the Kaingáng, and they were killed on sight or hunted down like wild animals. In Kaingáng terminology "a different group of our people" is a synonym for *thâgn*, enemy. The hated Brazilians and "our different people" are both *thâgn*, enemies, "something no good," and severed from the ties of blood in behavior if not in fact.

The Feuds

Today Kaingáng memory does not go further back than the murder of Nduichá with anything like exactness. But it transports us to this death more than a century ago with a precision that is almost mathematical. The complicated genealogies of the people whose descendants are alive today check rigorously. When the Kaingáng discuss such killings as Nduichá's they seem to be fitting together the parts of a machine the intricate workings of which they know precisely. Their absorbed interest in the history of their own destruction has impressed on their minds with flawless clarity the multitudinous cross-workings of the feuds. They remember not only the genealogy of everyone but even details of weather, conversation, and facial expression and the precise spot in which an arrow or a lance struck.

In order to understand the feud conditions under which Nduichá was murdered we must take advantage of these memories and try to picture the composition of Kaingáng society at the time. When our story opens three groups of people are living together: the children of Mumbégn,[2] the children of Kangguín, and the children of Vomblé. Mumbégn had three wives who bore him many children, but for the present our story is concerned only with three of his offspring: Kumbló, and his sister, and their half-brother, Wanyeki,[3] the son of Mumbégn by another wife. Mumbégn himself had died, and one of his wives, the mother of Kumbló, had married Kovĩ, "a different man," one for whom memory provides no blood tie. For

[2] His real name was Kuvén, but I have called him Mumbégn in order not to confuse him with his son Kuvén, who was killed later. These three men are the ancestors of the extended family with which I lived.

[3] See pp. 57-58.

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VII

The Processes of Internal Order

THE EXTENDED FAMILY is the unit of security—outside all is uncertain and deadly. It is this dichotomy that underlies the movements of food and property and the handling of conflicts in Kaingáng society. In all these situations it is not so much that one individual acts over against another as that the entire group cooperates in an effort to keep intact the last shred of security that remains to them in a hostile universe.

Hunting and the Distribution of Food

The Kaingáng inhabit an enormous territory. Through this land they scatter in small groups in search of food, for there is not enough game concentrated in any one area to support a large population. The small hunting bands are made up of men who are related as brothers, as fathers and children, and as in-laws. This is the standard composition of the bands from the Kaingáng point of view. Sometimes men are associated who are first cousins or who have inherited hunting relationships from their fathers. The inheritance of paternal loyalties is very important in Kaingáng society. If two men have been close associates for years, their sons will be close companions by the pure accident of their fathers' association. To the Kaingáng such a relationship has a special warmth because it is a reminder of their parents.

Thus the hunting band, however ephemeral its composition, is made up of individuals who are closely related by consanguinal, affinal, and sentimental ties; and as long as the nightmare of vendetta has never raised barriers between them, the members of the group live without serious conflicts. Their life is not idyllic by any means—they have their quarrels, and sometimes they separate, but there is never any bloodshed. Stability is

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helpfulness and support, and it is at this point that one of the greatest weaknesses of Kaingáng social structure becomes evident.

All of a person's brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, and first and second cousins are his *nungnyén*, and when a man marries, all of his wife's *nungnyén* become his in-laws. It is obvious that the number of any one person's in-laws will be enormous, especially when we consider the fact that he has in-laws not only through his wife but also through his own brothers and sisters and cousins and uncles and aunts. When we remember in addition how closely inbred Kaingáng extended families are it is at once evident that almost all the extended families may be in-laws to any one person. Since it is impossible to give attention to such an enormous number each man selects only a few. Owing to the fact that the lines of his selection are not defined for him, the group with which he throws in his lot is determined only by his own choice, and the character of the group of affinal relatives acknowledged by every individual is different. One man may associate principally with his wife's uncles and brothers, while another may ignore them almost entirely in favor of his sisters' husbands. There is no mechanism to fix and stabilize any kind of relationship. The consequent slighting or exclusion of some relatives and the general fluidity of the social scheme produce undercurrents of resentment that are ultimately drained off substitutively by the feuds.

Within the extended family feelings of rejection may be strong but they never break out into bloodshed. Although Vomblé did not see his brother-in-law Tokéle for a long time, all that passed between them when they met was words. "Tokéle used to shoot animals for me," said Vomblé, "but before he died he went away, so that I did not see him. [When I met him again I said to him,] 'I raided the Brazilians, but you went far away and I did not see you after that. I thought that when I went to attack the Brazilians you would follow me, but you did not. I was the companion of your [adoptive] father until he died; then I became angry with you. When your real father was killed[3] you were small, and he [the adoptive father] brought you up. At last you grew to manhood, but you went away and you did not see him die. Therefore I was angry with you. I thought to myself, if I were to see you I would be angry with you. *I am telling you this to no purpose.*' Then Tokéle said to me, 'I thought that you would be that way [angry]. When you went away I was going to follow you, but *yágn*[4] asked me [to go with him], and so I went with him. That is why I did not see *yágn* [his adoptive father] die. Are you going to be angry with me on that account?' 'Yes, I am. I went around with your *yágn* and suffered hunger

[3] In a feud.

[4] His adoptive father's brother who was also his wife's mother's brother and hence a relative by marriage.

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with him. That is why I am about to be angry with you—because you did not see him. He was always watching for you; that is why I who have seen you am talking to you. Now that I have done it I'm going to stop.' Tokéle also said: 'When I was your companion I shot animals for you. Then I went about with Kopaké[6] [Vomblé's brother] and shot animals for him. I went about with him; so I shot none for you, but you went around alone with *yégn* [Tokéle's adoptive father], and so you are angry because I did not see him die.'"

Tokéle was caught in the confusion of his culture. His obligations to all of the individuals in question were real and pressing, but it was impossible to fulfill them all. His only excuse was that he was "asked" to go elsewhere by another relative by marriage, but it was not enough to soften Vomblé's anger. In spite of this resentment, however, Vomblé added that he was "telling . . . this to no purpose," for it is essential to do everything possible to remove the sting from an angry outburst within the family. In typical Kaingáng fashion Vomblé deflected the stream of interest from himself to his dead father-in-law by saying over and over again that he was angry because Tokéle "did not see him die." Failure to see a relative die is a theoretical offence which may be invoked to obscure the real causes of anger when it is felt necessary to do so. When Kanyahé brought about the murder of Patklé[6] the "reasons" he gave were (1) that he had been deserted and (2) that Patklé had not "seen his child [i.e. Kanyahé's wife] die." The true motive for the murder was that Patklé was "a different man" who had long had it coming to him. The real reason for Vomblé's anger appears in such remarks as "Tokéle used to shoot animals for me, but before he died he went away, so that I did not see him," and in similar statements in which Tokéle's desertion is emphasized.

The only way to avoid reproach was to wander constantly in search of other people and to live with them and give them food. But even this might fail. When the co-husband of Kapíli was killed in a feud massacre and Chukembégn, Kapíli's brother, was wounded, Kapíli needed another man to aid him in the food quest. But Yuvén, who had married his sister, was far away. "Yuvén and his children were his affinal relatives but never shot anything for him, and therefore he was angry and hungry." When Kapíli and the wounded Chukembégn at last met one of their relatives Chukembégn said to him. "Let Yuvén come and shoot some birds that I desire so much." Then the relative went away, and when he reached Yuvén he said to him: "Yuvén, Kapíli has called you. He said, 'Let Yuvén come to me and let him live with me.' Chukembégn and Kapíli called you to shoot birds for them." But Yuvén's coming did not solve the problem, for

[6] Tokéle's wife's first cousin—an affinal relative.

[6] See p. 58, Chapter V.

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596 although he was willing to help Chukembégn, he felt quite differently about helping Chukembégn's brother, Kapíli. Kapíli had for a long time felt himself deserted by his wife's brother Waipó, and news of his anger had somehow reached Yuvén. But Waipó was Yuvén's co-husband, and Yuvén was angry, particularly because Waipó had died. "Yuvén came with many jacutingas. Wainlúin [his wife, the sister of Chukembégn and Kapíli] gave some to her brother Kapíli, but Yuvén ignored him. Kanyahé [Waipó's brother] did not speak to Kapíli." The situation between Kapíli and Waipó could be interpreted either as desertion on the part of Waipó or as desertion on the part of Kapíli. The close relatives of Waipó interpreted it, of course, in the latter way. This is the constant condition within the extended families: the streams of resentment are manifold, and the drying up of one does not mean the establishment of accord.

Property

556 252 In Kaingáng society there was only one reason for a man's accumulating property—in order to give it away to his affinal relatives when his little boy's lower lip was pierced for the insertion of the lip plug or when his little girl's thigh was pricked to make her "able to walk." In preparation for this festa of "blackening the children"[7] a number of men raided the Brazilians, stole their property, and came back and made beer for their affinal relatives. The people particularly singled out for recognition on this occasion were the child's *kókla* and *mbē*, the male and female affinal relatives who buried the child's umbilical cord in the water and who on this day pierced its lip or thigh and symbolically "made" the child, thereby completing the process through which they become the child's ceremonial father and mother.[8] This was the child's ceremonial induction into the long series of activities through which in later life his bond with his father's relatives by marriage was maintained, with the vicissitudes to which all relationships were subjected in Kaingáng society. But it is not only the *kókla*, the ceremonial father, and the *mbē*, the ceremonial mother, who received gifts on this day, but also other affinal relatives of the father, no matter whether he had come by them through his wife or through his sisters or cousins.

421 Accumulation of property is incomprehensible to the Kaingáng. Property is for use in the struggle for existence. It is not a means to prestige or power. Like most of the abstract values that our civilization has exploited, the concept of power over people is little developed among the Kaingáng. What property they gather above the immediate needs of existence is distributed throughout life to their close relatives. In days long ago, before the

[7] So called from the practice of smearing the children with charcoal. See Appendix III.
[8] See Appendix III.

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It may be that the

use of the leg instead of the thigh is due in the case of men to their wearing trousers and in the case of women to their unwillingness, since they have begun to wear dresses, to impair their newly acquired modesty by lifting them above their knees.

A Kaingáng Bridge

Two trees (A and B) are felled on opposite banks of the stream so that they will fall into it, and posts (C) are sunk on the downstream side to keep the trees from being carried away. A third log (D) is lashed to A and B just above the surface of the water. Then three sets of tall uprights (E) are sunk into the stream bed on either side of A and B and tied together at the top. At the bottom they are united by horizontal boughs (F) that pass across the top of D. A bough (G) is laid on either side of D and lashed to F. These structures, D and G, form the gangway. Now railings are made by tying long boughs (H) to E on both sides.

Ornaments

Lip Plugs

The Kaingáng no longer wear lip plugs. These were usually made from pine knots but some men preferred beef bone.[16] Still others liked to slip a fine deer bone over the pine-knot plug. There was a considerable amount of individual variation in the shape of the plugs, and the members of some extended families were distinguished by the shape of their lip plugs.

Dance Ornaments

These are made only for baby blackenings.

Kdodjidn are, as the name implies, sticks about three feet long covered with feathers and stuck in the ground around the dance circle. Near the top they are provided with a tiny plaited square or disk and are usually surmounted by feathers. In making these ornaments the men do not try to surpass one another in originality, and all the *kdodjidn* are very much alike. The most striking innovation at the blackening that I witnessed was that of Chukembégn, who put the tail of a tesoureiro on top of his *kdodjidn* instead of the usual feather.

Ln are made of small basketlike objects set on the ends of poles about thirty feet long and set up on the dance ground. As the festivities mount they are lifted out of their holes and carried around on the shoulders of the men.

Smaller *ln*, about eight inches long, are held in the hand.

[16] Obtained from cattle killed in raids on the Brazilians.